484 sophistication which is spreading to the villages. This was not
521 yet very evident in Sivepe, though I shall later quote a few
633 examples, but far more so in Hohorita.

All the Orokaiva, including the people of Sivepe, liked to make occasional visits to Popondetta, even though they had little business there. They saw relatives and exchanged news with people they met around town, especially outside the Steamship Co. shop. News filtered down about the mission, the administration, the coffee factory and various current ideologies were communicated. The Inonda men visited more frequently than the Sivepe men; the women visited less frequently than the men.

609 I had little chance to observe relationships between Orokaiva
619 and Papuans and New Guineans from outside the Northern District, except when these served in some official or mission capacity. The only exception was the workers on European-owned plantations. I observed one incident at Hohorita which seemed to me highly significant. The Sangara plantation, which is very close to Hohorita, employs many Chimbu; bad feeling between plantation workers and villagers had been built up over some time, without any specific major issue of conflict. This culminated in a fight on a major scale. The Hohorita councillor went over to the plantation to make peace; the discussion ended with an invitation to the Chimbu to come to a feast at Hohorita. This feast was a success and was followed by a return feast at the plantation. Thus the Chimbu were placed on the same footing as other groups, at one time hostile, with whom feasting relations had been established, e.g., Sivepe and Togahou. Hohorita people whom I interviewed explained to me that when they quarreled with the Chimbu, they did not really know them, but they were friends now.

Section 6: Contacts With Indigenous Office-Bearers

731 Among the victims of the eruption were 143 Papuan administration servants as well as 27 Papuan constabulary, who died at Higaturu along with the 46 European civil servants stationed there. The Mission was somewhat fortunate that Martyrs' School at Sangara was still closed for the holidays; the pupils and some of the staff had not yet returned. Even so only 11 Papuan mission teachers survived, including the present Bishop of the Northern District Diocese, George Amob, the priest at Sasembata, Fr. Albert McLaren, and the now retired mission teacher at Seva, later at Inonda, Moses Kusmale.

657 At the time of the eruption, a certain number of new roles
177 had already become firmly established among Papuans: member of the
647 Royal Papuan Constabulary, Village Constable, Mission Teacher, Medical Orderly, Clerk, Labourer. Post-war government policy aimed at greatly increasing the number and scope of these roles, both by

officer, observing the offending houses, might charge the "committee" with dereliction of duty. This could not be taken lightly as some years earlier, in the days of the village constables, a negligent constable might find himself deposed and even jailed. (How frequently this actually happened I do not know, but the fear was still there.) The situation seems essentially ambiguous: willing cooperation and compulsion are both present.

As may be expected, contacts between Orokaiva and taupa are perceived totally differently by both parties. The European has two kinds of concept foreign to the Orokaiva, namely the concept of a formal organisation by which long-term fiduciary relationships can be established on an affectively neutral basis; and the concept of welfare objectives pursued by these organisations on the basis of universalistic values. The Orokaiva had no difficulty in trusting a European to fulfill fiduciary obligations if he had a close personal relationship with him, and likewise he would expect such a European to have an interest in his welfare, but as I have shown, such closeness was extremely rare in Sivepe. It was just unthinkable, to the Orokaiva, that an official casually visiting the village was truly interested in their welfare, because the Orokaiva could not see any reason why such an official should have such an interest. Clearly, the official was thought to come in the pursuit of his own, or his organisation's advantage. The patrol officer came to punish people who did not obey the law. I was told by informants that it did not greatly matter what one said to him as long as it stopped him from punishing people. The same was true, in one way or another, for most taupa, except some of those one knew well.

All men and women of Sivepe were asked what Europeans they knew or had known; the answers to this question were especially interesting because of the omissions. None of the persons listed in this section as being in contact with Sivepe people were ever mentioned--not even the head teacher and his wife. Anthropologists who had been in the village earlier were mentioned by many men and women, past employers were mentioned if the job was in the employer's home or if both employer and employee lived on the premises (e.g., in a hospital). The other contacts were left unmentioned, not because informants were uncooperative, but because these contacts did not fall within any of their categories of social intercourse. If I had asked specifically: "Has any European ever weighed your vegetables?", predictably some vegetable-weighers would have been listed, assuming that their names were remembered.

The relationships at Ilimo camp form a striking contrast to this general picture. This was obvious at once in the interviews as the name of, for instance, Mr. Kaad, is remembered by everybody, as are also a few other names, though less widely. There was hardly an informant who had been to Ilimo and who did not report, in one context or another, the activities of Mr. Kaad. Never once was he referred to in the accounts as "the taupa" or "the officer." When I interviewed Mr. Kaad in Sydney, he likewise felt that the kind of relationships between

CHAPTER V: Familiarity with New Homeland

In spite of the pax Australiana, Orokaiva still view with some apprehension visits to villages of traditional enemies, if friendship has not been explicitly established between visitors and host village. In 1951, this feeling of apprehension was even stronger than today. I was told that in pre-contact times a man would be extremely rash to visit a village where he was unknown as he might well be killed. Even then, however, it was sufficient protection if a visitor was able to ask by name for a kinsman or friend resident in that village. This person would then take the visitor under his protection and he would come to no harm in the host village.

A story about a football match held in Sangara shortly before the eruption demonstrates the dangers that existed even then. A Sangara team had visited a village in the Gona district and had defeated its hosts at football. On the way back home, a member of the team fell ill and died from blood poisoning. The Sangara people attributed the death to sorcery by the defeated village. When shortly afterwards this village visited Sangara to play the return match, the Sangara came to the football field armed with hidden knives, guns and pineapple clubs, intending to kill their guests. A bloodbath was avoided only by a thunderstorm during which the match was cancelled.

In these circumstances, it is understandable that the Sangara and Isivita people were unhappy about their evacuation to camps in the coastal region after the eruption. It was not, of course, the specific instance just quoted that made them uneasy but a general apprehension of danger. Certainly, deaths and illness occurring in these camps were very liable to be ascribed to sorcery. This is no doubt one reason why the government lost no time in closing the coastal camps down and bringing the inhabitants back inland, placing them in temporary accommodation in Popondetta end April, even before permanent resettlement villages for Sangara could be planned.

The camp at Ilimo did not create the same kind of worry, as Orokaiva has no reason to fear sorcery on the part of the Ilimo people. The Sivepa people feared no harm from Ilimo because two Sivepa families had friendly and kinship relations there, while there was no history of hostility between the two places. Ilimo, furthermore, was near some European plantations where people of Sasembata district at times found employment. While the Sivepa people were in the camp, they were on visiting terms with the village people. It is important to realise that the pivot of the friendly relations between these two villages were a small number of individuals who were linked by formal bonds. Of the two bonds, one was affinal while the other was a friendship bond based on contact between a Sivepa plantation worker and Ilimo village people.

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

grasp of certain fundamental psychological principles. For instance, the Orokaiva classification scheme relates the *simbo* kind of friendship symbolically to the marriage bond which, indeed, has the same quality of total interdependence between persons whose consanguineal links are distant, if present at all. Some friendships are indeed of this kind but not all: the Orokaiva system reflects this fact in that some non-kin relationships are classified as *simbo* while others are classified as *apa/eambo*, *otavo*, and so on.

If we cannot distinguish friendship from kinship on the basis of the content (the role attributes) of relationships, it is possible to make a distinction of a formal kind.[10] One characteristic of all friendship relations is that the partners are kept free of ritual avoidances such as those between affines. The wife of a sibling type of friend is given a sibling term of address; the wife of a *simbo* type of friend is herself classified as *simbo*. Another formal characteristic of all these relations is that they are equivalent, but additional to the kinship links of the same type.

The continual threat of warfare and disruptive disputes impels persons to maintain a number of residence and alliance options in many places. Friendships develop especially where the kin universe is inadequate in supplying these options and leaves dangerous gaps in the network; Orokaiva friendship patches the gaps in this network. This seems a humble and subsidiary role indeed. Nonetheless, the existence of a regular mechanism to fill these gaps makes a crucial difference to the nature of the total system. The fact that there is an institutionalized freedom of recruitment of members to each of the *philia* categories opens up the system and gives it a dynamic flexibility. Ascriptive criteria need never fully determine membership groups because a dimension of freedom in recruitment is given by the friendship customs.

This fact offers a useful beginning for an analysis of the relations between Orokaiva and Europeans, as the Orokaiva system had from the beginning certain social concepts which enabled them to fit the Europeans into their scheme of social relations. The fact that they are strangers does not in itself leave them out of social recognition. Time does not permit this line of analysis, but it is worth remarking that in the absence of a friendship category, Orokaiva would not be able to adapt themselves as easily to the modern type of intercourse with other tribes and other races. The Orokaiva never had a truly closed society. They had rules for setting up relations with strangers, and these relations included marriages, as I have shown elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1970a).

If we now turn from the Orokaiva case to more general questions regarding friendship, we may suggest that friendship is best regarded as a residual category within the *philia* universe, in that any *philia* universe must contain a regular process for the recruitment of strangers. Blau (1964) has described the psychological aspect of this process. The present essay has been

10 I am using "form" and "content" in the same sense as Levi-Strauss (1958).